4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

total Papago income, but farming furnishes basic subsistence for over three-quarters of the families on the Reservation. It is now believed that cattle will never be fundamental in Papago economy but should be regarded as a supplement to the real basis of Reservation life—farming. 434 231 241

Other sources of income are few. About 6 per cent of tribal income (including subsistence) is derived from firewood and fenceposts cut from mesquite. There are known small deposits of gold, silver, lead, and manganese on the Reservation, but they are in the hands of whites and offer nothing but a little employment to Indians, as the Papago have only surface rights to their land, and any mineral rights belong to the federal government. (Any miner may acquire rights on payment of rental of the land and fees for destruction of property.) This is a sore point with the Papago, since they are the only Indians who do not have rights to minerals under their lands.[4] 434 313 316

Handicrafts furnish a small part of tribal income—about 3 per cent. The bulk of this income comes from the sale of baskets and pottery[5] through the tribal Arts and Crafts Board, which was established under the auspices of the federal Indian Arts and Crafts Board to provide a market for Papago handiwork. Papago baskets, made of yucca, willow, bear grass, and devil's-claw, are of the close-coil type; decorative design in black and white, with occasional green or red, is simple but often strikingly beautiful in its sharp contrasts. Through assisting the Papago to improve their work and get better prices for it, the Arts and Crafts Board should help to raise Reservation income. It should also give the Desert People experience in co-operative business which may serve as a foundation for ventures in other fields. 434 285

There are a few small Papago business enterprises on the Reservation, most of them trading posts, but returns from these stores are a minute fraction of tribal income. An increasing share of Papago income is from paid labor. As previously stated, for generations the Desert People tided themselves over lean years by going to Mexico or to the Pima country to work for ranchers or farmers, who paid them in food and seed. Now, however, wage work (and cattle sales) are shifting Papago economy from a barter to a cash basis. Em- 434 [441] 464

4. The reasons for this anomalous situation are partly political. Under the Gadsden Purchase Treaty of 1854, the United States agreed to respect the laws and customs prevailing in the area under Mexican rule. Since Spanish days, mineral rights had belonged to the crown or the state. For two years (1932–34) Papago lands were withdrawn from mineral entry and claim, but renewal of the treaty provisions was made a part of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Papago resentment is understandable, since some other Indian tribes derive substantial income from mineral leases. Known deposits on the Reservation are small, but there is always the chance of discoveries, since great copper deposits are being worked near by.

5. The Papago also make rawhide ropes, wooden spoons, and other articles, chiefly for their own use.

[Text continues on p. 37-Analyst]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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It has been the good fortune of the Papagoes to live 177
in a country which the white man as yet has not found it profitable to exploit by cattle raising or, still less, by dry farming. Therefore, they have so far been left alone in their native country, and besides they have even come into possession of a few wells which the Americans dug in their efforts to redeem the land. These natives are thus better situated than most of the tribes of North America.

The Papagoes are above medium height, rather dark 142
in color, and of splendid physique. The women are inclined to be stout. They are a peaceful but at the same 181
time courageous people and show much intelligence. They are hospitable, as becomes a desert people, and if 574
food is being prepared in the house when a stranger comes, some of it is offered to him, be he Indian, Mexican, or American.

In the central part of the Papagueria, especially in 177
the large valley of Santa Rosa and the adjacent Quijotoa 182
and Comobabi ranges, they live happy days without much interference from the whites. Some of the sum- [311]
mer rancherias astonished me by their extent of land fenced by wooden piles and poles, but in outlying districts many are forced to seek work from the whites, by whom they are much valued as laborers in the making of railroads, irrigation ditches, and in mining. The part of the tribe that lives in Sonora is much more disrupted; they have lost most of their lands and are largely servants of the Mexicans, doing efficient work as *vaqueros* (cowboys), miners, etc. The Papagoes also know how 177
to "dry wash" gold at the placer mines, many of which 316

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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are found in Sonora, and the discovery of one or two large placer mines has been due to these Indians.

The Papagoes are by no means badly off, as a rule, and they manage to make a good living where, so far, the white man's efforts have failed. Their herds, adapting themselves to the arid conditions, are increasing and making the Indian prosperous and comfortable. Good mules now carry burdens which his wife or he himself formerly had to toil under; cheese is made from the milk of their cows and sold or used for their own consumption, and, above all, they have wheat and maize in sufficient quantities to last them all the year round. They also have wheat and occasionally some head of cattle to sell, obtaining in return commodities of civilized life. The white man's kitchen utensils are being acquired, and the women have begun to find it more convenient to use flour than to grind the grain on the metate. No native race, though keeping its language, can help changing its ideas under such conditions. In a very few years there will be no more interest attached to the Papago than to the native descendant of the once proud Aztec in the suburbs of the City of Mexico.

Although the Papago in Arizona always insists upon speaking his own language, still he is rapidly losing his aboriginal beliefs, customs, and habits; even basketwork, for which the women of the tribe were noted, is falling into decay. Both in Arizona and Sonora the Indians have completely adopted the white man's garments. Some old man may still be found in the more remote parts wearing his aboriginal apparel, consisting of a

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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him then, but during the following three days he worked at the drawing from memory in his spare time, being mostly occupied in his field and with his cattle. After long deliberation, he finally consented to part with the picture which is shown on plate. The horse is painted with red ochre and the necktie is blue, the color having been bought in an American store. The artist was about fifty years old.

Following a fairly good wagon road eastward through the Comobabi Mountains, I first halted at a rancheria called "Badger's Well," where I found all the old people absent in the sahuaro fields. The younger generation, inclined toward the white man's ways, offered little of interest. They spent much of their time in laughter and animated talk at the well, where they watered their cattle and horses. I noticed a quail creeping stealthily to drink from the overflow of the water, a few yards from the well. Its thirst was quickly satisfied, when it retired to safety among the bushes.

A man sold me a spur made from the cleft of a mezquite bush. It has a very sharp point, which is most efficient, though cruel. Only one foot is thus provided. A negro came along, a rather strange appearance in this part of the country; he told of a silver mine four miles east of there that he and half a dozen of his race owned. It had been found by one of them who had been a prospector for eight years.

There were many ants in my camp, so I was glad to pack up in the morning. A visit was first made to the burial place, which was of the usual unattractive de-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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few houses near it and naming their rancheria from the tall chimney. Five miles north is a rancheria called Sikulhímat ("where the water goes around." *Sikul*, round). Here, according to the Indians, the drainage of rain water flows toward the Gila River; south of that place it flows toward Mexico.

Horseshoe is the name of a once noted placer mine, the surface of which has been worked out. There are gold mines of a similar nature around the southern end of the Quijotoa Range. Judge Day has a store at Horseshoe and buys gold from the Indians, who still, during the winter, keep up the "dry-washing" process here, using for the purpose the machines that are common to the neighboring district of Altar, in Sonora. The Indians are even able to make the machines themselves. Judge Day is a man of intelligence and much common-sense, and, having lived here since 1893, was able to give reliable information about matters pertaining to the region. According to him the padres from San Xavier Mission, two hundred years ago, found the placer mines of Quijotoa. He showed me some nice nuggets of small sizes which he had lately bought. Five years ago the Indians found free gold in a piece of quartz which was worth one thousand six hundred dollars. After that eighty Papago and a few Yaqui Indians worked here for half a year, taking out in value between ten thousand and twelve thousand dollars, Judge Day buying most of the gold. The relations between the miners—all Indians—were cordial. When any of them had found a rich spot, he would tell it to the others, and next morn-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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316 571 ing the crowd would begin to work as near him as possible. No ill feeling or fights ensued; they would each earn from four to five dollars a day. The miners when 515 coming home would always wash after changing their clothes. Considering the trouble of getting water at the only well, their cleanliness may be considered an example even to whites. The women are particularly cleanly, and wash their own clothes frequently as well as those of their husbands.

181 577 Judge Day and his family, who have been living here among the Indians for so long a time, gave very good reports of their neighbors. He had spent twenty-two years among Indians, and considered the Papago the safest. "As a rule, they are honest," he said, "though there are scalawags among them, but these are discredited by their own race. The women will steal trifles, picking up a rope or the like, but the men will seldom do that. The store often gives an Indian twenty dollars on credit, and he will apologize if he does not pay in ninety days. These Indians, like the Mexicans, are pleased to be in debt, because they consider it an honor to be trusted. If the average native *says* he will pay his debt, he will do so."

854 Like all Indians, the Papagoes are kind to their children, the father no less than the mother. An Indian couple were purchasing some articles in the store while I was present; their strong and fat infant was crying continuously in its mother's arms, she trying vainly to stop its wails. Finally, I saw her, with a few words, hand the babe to her husband, a boyish, good-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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great surprise by breaking down. Clemente, the Papago interpreter, tall and long-legged, immediately started on a fast run in order to overtake an empty wagon that five minutes before had passed us rather briskly on the llano. As he ran he fired three shots from his pistol to attract the driver's attention, and after an hour or more brought the wagon back. The goods were transferred and Clemente and I made our camp near Tajitos, a small gold mine, until our driver returned from Caborca with a new wagon, which he had managed to borrow.

We passed Norias, a gold placer mine, where a small number of Mexicans and one Indian family live. The Papagoes, both father and son, had discovered mines. The father's discovery had once been thought important, and he had received four thousand dollars for it, which was spent long ago in the usual light-hearted fashion of the miner. The old man, humorous and frank, consoled himself with the fact that he owed nothing and owned a wagon. Westward of this placer mine among the hills toward Cozon are many now abandoned goldfields that yielded short-lasting but rich harvests to those engaged in "dry washing" the surface. Bonancita, San Perfecto, San Luis, and Hornitos are familiar names to the few who know the history of this part of the District of Altar.

At the Ranch Garambullo (the name of a thorny bush) are living six or seven Mexican families whose water supply is a dam which is not sufficiently large to serve beyond a limited time, when they are compelled to leave for other parts. Only one family, that of Sr. Santos

[pp 151-162 not processed]

Almost Twenty Per Cent of The 634
wage work carried on by men of Gu Vo is in the mines of Ajo. 621
Medical services are sought in Sells or Ajo. Folk medicine 628
is sought in the village of Ali Chuk (Manager's Dam). This 368
village also has a reputation throughout the district as [464]
being a ceremonial center. Ali Chuk, with its irrigation, is [316]
quite autonomous and is oriented toward Mexico. Priests,
residing in Pisinimo, make regular visits to both Gu Vo and
Ali Chuk villages.

Hickiwan District. The villagers of Kaka, Ventana and Vaya Chin commonly associate. (They have the only cattle association in the district). Vaya Chin contains a BIA school wher children from throughout the district attend. [365]
People at "this end" use the telephones in either Ventana [366]
(at Joe Thomas' house) or at the BIA school. They frequently shop, however, at the general store in Santa Rosa. Medical needs are cared for also at Santa Rosa clinic or by the medicine man in Vaya Chin.

The villagers of Hotason Ve (Charco #27), and Schuchuli (Gunsight) participate in political and ceremonial activities with Hickiwan. They commonly go to Covered Wells or to the "Y" near Ajo to shop.

Pisinimo District. Villagers of this district have a great many of the educational, political and commercial needs taken care of by the village of Pisinimo itself. [366]
The trader at San Simon (Wahak Hotonok) provides a "pick-up" store for district residents who work in Sells. Pisinimo has

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

ECONOMIC NECESSITY

Basic reasons Papagos Work—

433 In a rural area, there are not many choices of [463] livelihood—farming, mining, lumbering, raising cattle. [659] The Papago reservations have no timber worth cutting other than mesquite trees for firewood. [313] The Papago reservations are the only lands in the U. S. reserved for Indians which are open to mineral entry by out- [316] siders. Consequently mining claims are held by non- [464] Papagos, and profits go elsewhere. The only way the Desert People can benefit from mines is by selling their labor to the owners.

241 Farming is risky for the Desert People. Only two 311 communities have irrigated lands which can be depended upon for crops. The rest must resort to age-old tech- 433 niques of flood farming where arroyos spread flood waters from mountains. Spots that can be farmed this way are not abundant. They are being decreased each summer as gullies wash out fields and arroyos cover them with sterile sand and gravel washed down from over- grazed and eroding slopes above. Flood farming was never more than a subsistence measure because of the size limitation on fields, and frequent crop failures from flooding out, frost, or drought. Today, there is little incentive to gamble on a subsistence farm for any Papago able to speak enough English to get a job. For [464] wage labor means a super-subsistence income, even if a [511] substandard one by Anglo lights.

241 Probably every worker on the Papago reservations 433 has noticed the steady abandonment of flood farms. A- 433 mong Papago cotton pickers with these farms, less than 464 half apparently bother to plant any crops at all nowa- days.[1] 221 Cotton picking starts just about the time fields need weeding on the reserves, and picking season hits its peak just about the time flood field crops are ready to harvest. This conflict between flood-farm growing season and wage-labor season in the cotton fields re- sults in many Papago laborers not planting crops at all on the reserves.

433 Another factor discouraging flood farm planting is 241 that these small plots produce only subsistence crops 461 at best, even if the gamble against drought and over-

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[1] 6 families of 11 giving information had any crops at all in 1950.